

The University of Chicago

THOMAS NASHE'S CRITICISM OF
THE STATE OF LEARNING
IN ENGLAND

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE

1937

By
AEROL ARNOLD

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CHAPTER III

THE CRITERIA FOR NASHE'S CRITICISM OF THE STATE OF LEARNING IN ENGLAND

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that Nashe's dissatisfaction with the state of learning in England resulted from his belief that the true precepts of learning, recovered from "oblivion" by the group of Cambridge students around Sir John Cheke, were being ignored by his "idle age."¹ As will be demonstrated, Nashe belonged to the humanistic tradition of Cheke which emphasized the importance of the classics both as sources of knowledge and as standards of excellence.

The best sources of information about what Nashe thought good in education are his early works, his Anatomie of Absurditie (S. R., September 1588), probably written while he was still at Cambridge, and his preface to Robert Greene's Menaphon (S. R., August, 1589). Coming as they do so closely upon the end of his college career, they reflect the ideals of the men of whom St. John's College was proud.

In his preface to Greene's Menaphon, Nashe named eight men as models of learning. By ascertaining who these men were and what they represented with respect to learning, it is hoped that some idea of what Nashe considered desirable in education can be reached. The men named by Nashe are: Sir John Cheke, whom Nashe called "the Exchequer of eloquence a man of men, supernaturally traded in all tongs," Sir John Mason, Doctor Watson, Redman, Ascham, Grindal, Lever, and Pilkinton: "All of which, either by their private readings or public workes repurged the errors of Arte, expelled from their puritie, and set before our

¹Nashe writes, "But how ill their precepts have prospered with our idle age, that leave the fountaines of Sciences, to follow the rivers of Knowledge, their over-fraught studies with trifling compendiarie may testifie: for I know not how it cometh to passe, by the doting practise of our Divinitie Dunces, that strive to make their pupills pulpit-men before they are reconciled to Priscian; but those yeares which should bee employed in Aristotle are expired in Epitomes, and well too, they may have so

eyes a more perfect methode of studie."²

The questions to be asked in this study are: What errors did these men "repurge," and what was the perfect method of study which they introduced? Stated briefly, the errors represent the excesses of scholasticism against which humanists revolted. The perfect method of study is the renewed classical study, or humanism, which, according to Nashe, was "expelled" by scholasticism, but was reestablished in its rightful place by these eight men. These, however, are conclusions. Let us proceed to the materials from which such conclusions are deduced.

With the single exception of Thomas Watson (1513-1584) all of these men were dead before Nashe came up to Cambridge in 1581 or 1582.³ Some had come to be merely part of the tradition of Nashe's college, and, I believe, it can be demonstrated that Nashe knew several of them only as names: names listed by Roger Ascham as worthy of remembrance for their work in bringing the "true learning" to St. John's College. What is significant about these men is that, with the exception of Sir John Mason, all of them were St. John's men, and all of them were in some way connected with Roger Ascham. They were all scholars, save Mason. All of them were enthusiasts for the study of Greek. In a word, Nashe selected them as models of learning because they were interested in the "New Learning," and because at least the most important three of those named were particularly interested in style.

The inclusion of Sir John Mason in the list of models of learning is an anomaly, to be explained only by the fact that Nashe connected him with The Scholemaster and hence with the men around Ascham, all of whom were scholars. Mason was not a scholar, nor was he a St. John's man. In these two respects he differs from the seven other men named by Nashe. From 1552 to 1556, and again from 1559 to 1566 he was Chancellor of Oxford. But since he died a year before Nashe was born, it is difficult to believe

much Catechisme vacation, to rake up a little refuse philosophy" ("Preface to Robert Greene's Menaphon," Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow [London, 1904-10], III, 318). Complaints about the growing use of epitome instead of going directly to the original work are found in Ascham's The Scholemaster (Ed. John E. B. Mayor [London, 1863], pp. 126 ff.).

²"Preface to Robert Greene's Menaphon," Works, III, 317.

³McKerrow, Works of Nashe, V, 8.

that his fame lasted until Nashe came up to Cambridge. As has been suggested, Nashe probably knew of Mason through Ascham's The Scholemaster. Ascham tells, in the preface of the book, that Mason was among those present in 1563 at the dinner in Sir William Cecil's chamber, when the discussion arose about education which resulted in Ascham's book.⁴ Mason is described as being "verie merie with both parties, pleasantlie playing both with the shrewde touches of many courste boyes, and with the small discretion of many leude Scholemasters."⁵

Nashe seems to have known as little of John Redman (1499-1551) as he knew of Mason. However, Redman deserves a place in Nashe's list. He was a St. John's man, receiving his B. A. and his M. A. degrees in 1525-26 and 1530, respectively. In 1538 he was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, from 1542 to 1546 he was master of King's Hall, and from December 19, 1546 to his death in 1551 he was first master of Trinity College. It was Redman, Strype tells us, who first interested Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith in "good learning." After some years of study at the University of Paris, Redman returned to England very accomplished in Latin and Greek. He was much admired for his learning, Strype asserts,

which Cheke and his fellow Smith well observed, and being themselves truly addicted to their studies, took occasion hence to pursue that sort of learning which Redman was become so eminent for. And thenceforth forsook the common course of studies in the Universities then used, which consisted in the barbarous terms and idle disputations of the modern schools and schoolmen, and betook themselves to the reading of good Latin and Greek authors.

Redman was among those instrumental in reforming the method of study which prevailed at Cambridge. Ascham tells that, when he first came to Cambridge, the custom prevailed of reading Aristotle without the examples of other authors. The method seemed wrong to Redman, Cheke, Smith, Haddon, and Watson, who together brought in the "true" approach to literature, which was to study the "precepts" in an author together with examples taken from others. Of this method Ascham wrote:

For precepts in all Authors, and namelie in Aristotle, without applying unto them the Imitation of examples, be hard, drie and cold, and therefore barrayn, unfruitfull and unpleasant. But Aristotle, namelie in his Topickes and Elenches, should be not onelie fruitfull, but also pleasant to, if ex-

⁴The Scholemaster, p. xiii. ⁵Ibid., p. xv.

⁶John Strype, Life of Sir John Cheke (Oxford, 1821), p. 151.

amples out of Plato and other good Authors were diligentlie gathered and aptlie applied unto his most perfit preceptes there. And it is notable, that my frende Sturmius writeth herein, that there is no precept in Aristotles Topickes, wherof plentie of examples be not manifest in Platos workes. And I heare say, that an excellent learned man, Tomitanus in Italie, hath expressed everie fallacion in Aristotle with diverse examples out of Plato.

Redman was dead for thirty years when Nashe came up to Cambridge, and in that time the reputation of even a very famous teacher is somewhat worn. To Nashe, Redman was only a name. There is only one reference to him in all of Nashe's work. To Ascham, however, he was a living person. He and Cheke were the "two worthy starres" of Cambridge.⁸ References to him in The Scholemaster are numerous. Ascham writes of him:

At Cambridge also, in S. Johns Colledge, in my tyme, I do know, that not so much the good statutes, as two Jentlemen of worthie memorie, Syr John Cheke and Doctour Readman, by their onely example of excellency in learnyng, of godlynes in livyng, of diligencie in studying, of counsell in exhorting, of good order in all thyng, did breed up so many learned men in that one Colledge of St. Johns at one time, as I beleve, the whole Universitie of Lovaine in many yeares was never able to affourd.

Together with Cheke and Smith, Redman is credited with driving Scholasticism from Cambridge and bringing in the "true" study of Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Cicero, with the result, Ascham boasts, that classical studies flourished as notably at Cambridge as ever they did in Greece and Rome. For their work in behalf of classical studies, Ascham wrote, "that universitie and all students there, as long as learning shall last, shall be bounde unto them."¹⁰ Praise such as Ascham's would have made Redman's name one to be remembered by so good a "St. Johnite" as Nashe, even if Redman's name had not lived before in the oral tradition of Nashe's college.

William Grindal, Thomas Lever, and James Pilkington were also scholars of St. John's College. Grindal was Ascham's favorite pupil and was much loved by him. In the opinion of Ascham, Grindal, next to Cheke and Smith, "was second to none in Greek,"

⁷The Scholemaster, p. 158.

⁸Ibid., p. 164.

⁹Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 158. Sir Thomas Smith is mentioned by Nashe in "Have with You" (Works, III, 58); Haddon is referred to in "Pierce Penillesse" (Works, I, 195); his Latin poetry is praised by Nashe in "Preface to Greene's Menaphon" (Works, III, 320).

and in a letter to Cheke, dated September 13, 1544, we find Ascham writing for aid for his poor friend who "was so attached to me that all our interests are in common."¹¹ Probably in 1546, when Elizabeth was separated from Edward and was sent to Endfield, Grindal was selected as Elizabeth's tutor. Ascham succeeded his dear friend as tutor to the future queen upon the death of Grindal in 1548.¹²

Thomas Lever (1521-1577) was another of Ascham's friends. He was a student of St. John's College, received his B. A. in 1541-42, his M. A. in 1545, and in 1551 was elected master in St. John's. On the accession of the Catholic queen, Mary, Lever fled to Switzerland, where he became friendly with Bullinger and Calvin "and received from them a tincture very prejudicial to his future preferment."¹³ After Mary's death, he returned to England, but he did not regain his mastership because of his Calvinistic leanings.¹⁴ In January, 1562, he received an appointment to the hospital of Sherburn near Durham. The following year he was granted a prebend in that church, which he held only until 1567. He retained his appointment to the hospital until his death.¹⁵

Lever merits a place in Nashe's list of distinguished scholars because of his exceptional ability as a preacher. Thomas Baker, the eighteenth century historian of St. John's College, compared him to Martin Luther and Hugh Latimer; and to the sermons of Latimer those of Lever's have many affinities. Like Latimer, Lever was unremitting in his attacks on current social abuses. Particularly interesting for this study is the vigorous attack on the courtiers surrounding the young Edward whom Lever accuses of being responsible for the decay of Divinity at Cambridge and for the ill condition of the scholars studying there.¹⁶

Whether or not Nashe ever read Lever's sermons is not

¹¹The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, edited by Rev. Dr. Giles (London, 1865), pp. xlii-xliii. See also ibid., p. lv and Strype, Cheke, p. 9.

¹²DNB, 23, 264-265.

¹³Thomas Baker, History of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge, ed. John E. B. Mayor (Cambridge, 1869), I, 130.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶"The Sermon at Paul's Cross" (December, 1550), in Sermons, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster, 1895), pp. 121 ff.

known. His name appears only once in Nashe's work, and then only in the list which seems definitely to be based on Ascham. But it is not likely that in the oral tradition of Nashe's college the name of this famous Edwardian preacher was forgotten.

Whether Nashe meant James Pilkington or his brother Lawrence was not clear to McKerrow.¹⁷ There can be no doubt, I believe, that Nashe meant James, and that he learned about him much in the same manner as he learned about the other men. In Grant's Latin life of Roger Ascham, to which Nashe refers,¹⁸ Pilkington's name appears among the roll of illustrious scholars of England as "Jacobum Pilkington."¹⁹ Pilkington was a St. John's man, having received his B. A. in 1538-39, his M. A. in 1542, and his B. D. in 1551. He was in exile during Mary's reign. On his return, he was one of the commissioners appointed to revise the Book of Common Prayers, completed in April, 1559, the year in which he was elected master of St. John's. In October, 1561, he resigned as master to take up his work as Bishop of Durham. He was intimately connected with Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith, having aided them in working out their phonological system for the pronunciation of Greek.²⁰

Among the Greek scholars of England, Sir John Cheke was the most famous. Not only was he important for his own work, but because he was teacher and friend to the most important scholars of his age. He was a fellow of St. John's College in 1529, professor of Greek from 1540 to 1551, and public orator in 1544. He was tutor to the young Edward, heir to the throne of Henry VIII, and for a time before Edward and Elizabeth were separated, he was Elizabeth's tutor. Elizabeth's most important adviser, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was one of Cheke's pupils.²¹ The love Cheke's pupils bore him is evident in their works. Cheke's name is ever present in The Scholemaster. Ascham speaks of him as

¹⁷Works of Nashe, IV, 455.

¹⁸Ibid., I, 48.

¹⁹See Mayor's extract of the work reprinted in his edition of The Scholemaster, p. 271.

²⁰Nashe refers to Cheke's work on the pronunciation of Greek in the Dedicatory Epistle to "Have with You to Saffron Walden" (Works, III, 14). For a short sketch of Pilkington's life, see Baker's History of St. John's College, I, 146-152.

²¹Styve, Cheke, p. 7.

that "Jentleman of Worthie memorie, my dearest frend and teacher of all the little poore learning I have."²² Cheke's departure from Cambridge to take up his work as Edward's tutor occasioned several expressions by Cheke's pupils of the place he occupied at Cambridge. That Cheke was considered the founder of a "school" is evident from a letter written by Ascham to Cecil, asking leave to return to St. John's again "when all the rest were gone, like seed to propagate true learning and piety." He wrote to Cecil as follows:

Seeing the goodly crop of Mr. Cheke is almost clean carried from thence (i.e., the college) and I in a manner alone of that time left a standing straggler, peradventure though my fruit be very small, yet because the ground from when it sprung was so good, I may yet be thought somewhat fit for seed, when all you the rest are taken up for better store; wherewith the King and the realm is now so nobly served.²³

In Toxophilus Ascham wrote that when Cheke left Cambridge "our most helpe and furtheraunce to learnynge" departed.²⁴ He continues:

And when I consider howe manye men he succoured with his helpe, and hys ayde to abyde here for learninge, and howe all men were provoked and styrrred up, by his counsell and daylye example, howe they shulde come to learning, surely I perceyve that sentence of Plato to be true, which sayeth that there is nothyng better in any common wealthe than that there shoulde be alwayes one or other, excellent passyng man, whose lyfe and vertue, shoulde plucke forward the will, diligence, labour and hope of all other, that folowyng his footestepes, they myght comme to the same ende, wherunto labour, lerning and vertue, had conveyed him before.²⁵

In a Latin letter to Cheke, dated January 28, 1550, Ascham acknowledges his great debt to his teacher and friend. Translated, the letter reads as follows: "For whatever aide I there obtained, whether moderately bestowed by fortune for the wants of life, or the still more moderate aids of learning for the improvement of my mind, all have originated from your singular and abundant love towards me, and from those sources of learning which for so many years you happily and constantly opened for me by your superior intellect, supplying me thereby both precept, exam-

²²The Scholemaster, p. 167.

²³The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, I, Part II, 351.

²⁴Ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, 1868), p. 77.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 77-78.

ple, and advice."²⁶

Haddon wrote of Cheke's departure from Cambridge: "Although your body be snatched from us, yet your obliging behaviour, your wit, your study, your eloquence, and learning, is present in all our schools, and in each of private thoughts."²⁷

To Wilson, Cheke is "that rare learned man, and singular ornament of this land" to whom Wilson is forever indebted because to him Cheke communicated "the skill and giftes of hys minde, as I cannot but during my life speake reverentlye of so worthie a man, and honor in my hart the heavenly remembrance of him."²⁸

Cheke seems to have been one of those rare scholars who inspire in their students feelings of love and friendship as well as admiration and respect, and Cheke's students seem always eager to pay homage to him as the source of learning and inspiration.

The theory of education advocated by Cheke was that of the early humanists whose work he carried on. It consisted of a thorough knowledge of the language and literature of Greece and Rome, and, as we shall see, in the case of Cheke, there was a particular emphasis on the importance of Greek knowledge. Ascham states that he heard Cheke say many times that he would have a student ". . . passe and jorney through all Authors both Greke and Latin: but he that will dwell in these few bookes onelie: first, in Gods holie Bible, and than joyne with it, Tullie in Latin, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Isocrates and Demosthenes in Greke, must nedes prove an excellent man."²⁹ The importance assigned by early humanists to a thorough mastery of Greek and Latin can be seen in the course of study devised by Colet for St. Paul's School, which he founded in 1512.³⁰ The purpose of the

²⁶The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, I, Part I, 174. The translation of this letter appears in Giles introductory biographical sketch, pp. lix-lxi.

²⁷Translated by Strype, Cheke, pp. 23-24.

²⁸The Three Orations of Demosthenes . . . in favour of the Olynthians, trans. Thomas Wilson (London: Henrie Denham, 1570), Dedicatory Epistle to Sir William Cecil, p. 4.

²⁹The Scholemaster, p. 154.

³⁰The statutes of the school are reprinted in Appendix A of J. H. Lupton's A Life of Dean Colet (London, 1887), pp. 271-284. The statutes of St. Paul's school served as a model for those of Merchant Taylors' School, founded in 1542. In this way, the ideals of Colet lived long past his own age.

school, as Colet conceived of it, was to teach ". . . good litterature both laten and greke, and good auctors such as have the veray Romayne eliquence joyned with wisdome specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chast laten ether in verse or in prose, for my entent is by thys scole specially to increase knowledge and worshipping of god and our lorde Crist Jesus and good Cristen lyff and manners in the children."³¹

No longer was it enough to study Christian authors for their matter alone. Good doctrine had to be wedded to fine style if it was to be tolerated by Colet, who hated the corrupt Latin of the Middle Ages brought into the world by "ignorant blynde folles."

A knowledge of Greek was absolutely essential, these early humanists thought, because in the literature of Greece all knowledge was contained. Of the importance of Greek Erasmus wrote:

I affirm that with slight qualifications the whole of attainable knowledge lies enclosed within the literary monuments of ancient Greece. This great inheritance I will compare to a limpid spring of whose undefiled waters it behoves all who truly thirst to drink and be restored.³²

Because all knowledge was contained in the Greek and Latin languages, and because there was a natural affinity between these two languages which rendered it more profitable to study them side by side, humanists emphasized the importance of a mastery of these two languages.³³

From his tutor, Sir John Cheke, Ascham imbibed the same faith in the importance of the study of Greek and Latin. He, too, believed that all knowledge was to be found in Greek, and that everything written since the time of the Greeks, with the exception of the works of Cicero, whom he worshipped, was stolen from "the worthie wittes of Athens."³⁴ Nor was it enough, Ascham

³¹Ibid., pp. 279-280.

³²De ratione studii (1511), trans. Woodward in Erasmus concerning Education (Cambridge, 1904), p. 164.

³³Ibid., p. 163; Elyot, The Governour (1531), ed. Henry Croft (London, 1883), I, 53-55. Foster Watson, Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women (1912), p. 250.

³⁴Ascham wrote, "Now, let Italian, and Latin it selfe, Spanishe, French, Douch, and Englishe bring forth their lerning, and recite their Authors, Cicero onelie excepted, and one or two moe in Latin, they be all patched cloutes and ragges, in compari-

thought, to have only a knowledge of Latin, because, as some argued, the major works of Greek were translated. Even the best translation, Ascham maintained, was a poor substitute for the original.³⁵

Certain among the Greek authors were very important for study, Cheke thought, and from the list of authors whose works he read to his students Cheke's favorites can be deduced. Ascham testifies in Toxophilus (1545) that before his departure from Cambridge to take up his duties as tutor to Prince Edward, to which he was called in 1544, Cheke read "privatly in his chambre" all of Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, and Plato. It was his intention to read Demosthenes and Aristotle to the group, but his departure interrupted his plan.³⁶ By 1540, Ascham writes, the boys at Cambridge had been reading Plato and Aristotle in the original for five years; Sophocles and Euripides were more familiar than Plautus had been formerly; Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon were more frequently in the hands and on the lips of students than Livy was in former time; and the boys read Isocrates more frequently than former students at Cambridge had read Terence. He explains:

Meanwhile we do not scorn the Latins, but most ardently embrace the best authors, who flourished in that golden age. This flame of literary zeal has been lit and fed by the toil and example of our friend Cheke.³⁷

To Cheke Ascham attributed the honor of encouraging the

son of faire woven broade clothes. And trowellie, if there be any good in them, it is either lerned, borrowed, or stolne, from some one of those worthie wittes of Athens" (The Scholemaster, p. 52).

³⁵ Ascham tells of a Bishop "that now liveth" who declared that Greek was not necessary since all things were translated into Latin. Ascham writes, "But the good man understood not, that even the best translation is for mere necessitie but an evill impeded wing to flie withall, or a hevie stompe leg of wood to go withall: soch, the hie they flie, the sooner they falter and faill: the faster they runne the offer they stumble, and sorer they fall. Soch as will nedes so flie, may flie at a Pye, and catch a Dawe: And s ch runners, as commonlie they shove and shollder to stand foremost, yet in the end they cum behind others, and deserve but the hopshakles, if the Masters of the game be right judgers" (ibid., pp. 151-152).

³⁶ Pp. 77-78.

³⁷ Translated by Mayor in notes to The Scholemaster, p. 257. The letter is translated in full in The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, I, Part I, xxxvii. The Latin text is reprinted on pp. 24 ff.

study of Greek authors, and what is particularly important, Cheke was influential in fostering the study of Plato. Cheke's interest in Plato seems to have been responsible for his emphasis on mathematical studies.³⁸ He seems also to have shared Plato's high opinion of dialectic, for in a Greek epigram prefacing the book on dialectic written by his friend Seton, Cheke quotes Plato's opinion that dialectic is the queen of the arts.³⁹ Haddon speaks to Cheke of "your Plato."⁴⁰ The number of references to Plato in Ascham's Toxophilus and The Scholemaster indicate the reverence in which Cheke's students held Plato.

With dialectic, rhetoric occupied an honored place among the classical studies of Cheke and his school.⁴¹ Among Greek rhetoricians, Cheke admired Demosthenes most, and after Demosthenes, Isocrates.⁴² In a letter to Cheke, dated 1550, Ascham expressed his admiration for Cheke's knowledge of Demosthenes and took occasion "knowing the excellent Latin style of Cheke" to urge Cheke to translate the orations of Demosthenes and of his antagonist Eschines into Latin: "which would he take in hand, he should, he said, undertake a thing most proper and agreeable to his place, his study, his wit, his judgment, and his ability: and that thereby he would hold forth a great light to the commendable imitation of Demosthenes and Tully, the princes of the Greek and Latin speech."⁴³ The task of turning Demosthenes into English was left to Cheke's friend and pupil, Thomas Wilson, whose Three Orations of Demosthenes in favour of the Olynthians with those his foure Orations against King Philip of Macedonie were published in 1570 and dedicated to William Cecil, Cheke's pupil and brother-in-law. The work was the result of a plan made by Cheke and Wilson as early as 1556 to make an English transla-

³⁸Walter Ludwig Nathan, Sir John Cheke und der Englische Humanismus (Bonn, 1928), p. 82. Tradition has it that Cheke distributed copies of Euclid among his students at St. John's College and at King's College (J. B. Mullinger, St. John's College [1901], p. 35).

³⁹Nathan, Cheke, p. 87.

⁴⁰From a letter to Cheke quoted by Strype, Cheke, pp. 23-24.

⁴¹Nathan, Cheke, p. 87. ⁴²Ibid., p. 92.

⁴³Paraphrased by Strype, Cheke, pp. 52-53.

tion of the orations, but the task was left for Wilson to do alone.⁴⁴ Cheke made a very definite contribution to the translation, however, in that he translated the orations from Greek into Latin and interpreted them to Wilson, as Wilson himself testifies in the introduction to the English translation.

Speaking of Cheke's activity in Padua, Wilson says,

I did cal to minde his care that he had over all the Englishe men there, to go to their bokes: and how gladly he did reade to me and others, certaine Orations of Demosthenes in Greeke, the interpretation wherof, I and they had then from his mouth Maister Cheke (whom I dare match with any one before named [Melanchithon, Camerarius, Wolf, Carr] for his knowledge in the Greeke tongue), having traveyled in Demosthenes as much as any of them all, and famous for his learning throughout Europe: yet was he never so passing in his translations that no exception could be made against him

No man was better qualified to translate Demosthenes into English, Wilson asserted, for no man among all of Wilson's acquaintances knew Demosthenes better.

The which enterprise [of translating Demosthenes into English] if any might have bene most bolde to have taken upon him, Sir John Cheeke was the man, of all that ever I knew, or doe yet know in Englande. Such acquaintance had he with this notable Orator, so gladly did he reade him, and so often: that I thinke there was never olde Priest more perfite in his Porteise, nor superstitious Monke in our Ladies Psalter as they call it, nor yet good Preacher in the Bible or testament, than this man was in Demosthenes. And great cause moved him so to be, for that he sawe him to be the perfitest Orator that ever wrate for these two thousand yeares almost by past (for so long it is since he was) and also for that he perceyved him to have before his eyes in all his Orations the advancement of vertue as a thing chiefly to be sought for, together with the honor and welfare of his countrie. Besides this, maister Cheekes judgement was great in translating out of one tongue into an other, and better skill he had in our English speach to judge of the Phrases and properties of wordes, and to divide sentences: than any else had that I have knowne. And often he would englyshe his matters out of the Latine or Greeke upon the sodeyne, by looking of the booke onely without reading or construing any thing at all: An usage right worthie and verie profitable for all men, as well for the understanding of the booke, as also for the aptnesse of framing the Authors meaning, and bettering thereby their judgement, and therewithall perfiting their tongue and utterance of speach. Moreover he was moved greatly to like Demosthenes above all others, for that he sawe him so familiarly applying himselfe to the sense and understanding of the common people, that he sticked not to say, that none ever was more fitte to

⁴⁴G. H. Mair's introduction to Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique (1560) (Oxford, 1909), p. xiii.

⁴⁵The Three Orations of Demosthenes, Dedicatory Epistle to Sir William Cecil, pp. 4 ff.

make an English man tell his tale praise worthily in any open hearing, either in Parliament or in Pulpit, or otherwise, then this onely Orator was. But seeing maister Cheeke is gone from us to God, after whom we must all seeke to follow, and that this thing is not done by him, the which I woulde with all my hart had bene done, for that he was best able: it can not be counted now I trust, any fault in me, if I endeavour to doe that, the which I never sawe done before me.⁴⁶

Nor was Cheeke's interest in style restricted to Greek or Latin style. He realized how important it was for an Englishman to be a good orator either in the pulpit or in parliament, and, as Wilson testifies in the selection quoted above, he believed that a study of Demosthenes would contribute to the eloquence of the student. Because Demosthenes' writing was "more bending, more fast, firme, and more agreeable to our common maner of speech than Tullies Orations," Thomas Wilson preferred him to Cicero⁴⁷

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁴⁷Ibid., "Preface to the Reader conteyning the Commendation of Demosthenes," pp. 13 ff.: "And yet thus much I may boldly say, that Demosthenes hath more matter couched in a small rounge, than Tullie hath in a large discourse, and that Demosthenes writing is more bending, more fast, firme, and more agreeable to our common maner of speech, than Tullies Orations are. And who so speaketh now as Demosthenes doth, I doe thynke he should be counted the wiser, the more temperate, and the more grave man a great deale, than if he wholly followed Tullie and used his large veyne and vehement maner of eloquence. Besides this, Demosthenes used a playne famillier maner of writing and speakyng in all his actions, applying himselfe to the peoples nature and to their understanding without using of Proheme, to wynne credite, or devysing conclusion to move affections and to purchase favor after he had done hys matter: whereas Tullie with his flowing eloquence, sought to wrest the judges to hys purpose both at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end; not trusting as it should seeme to the goodnesse of his cause, or to speake more modestly it was sufferable in Rome, to use these practices of eloquence . . . to advance their matters withall, ye same being utterly forbidde in Greecelande, upon paine of displeasure. And were it not better and more wisdom to speake plainly and nakedly after the common sort of men in few words, than to overflowe wyth unnecessarie and superfluous eloquence as Cicero is thought sometimes to doe? But perhaps whereas I have bene somewhat curious to followe Demosthenes naturall phrase, it may be thought that I doe speake over bare Englysh. Well I had rather follow his veyne, the whych was to speake simply and plainly to the common peoples understanding, than to overflouryshe wyth superfluous speech although I might thereby be counted equall with the best that ever wrate English. . . . The like opinion had Sir John Cheeke, knight of this famous man, and sayde plainly that he passed all others, not onely for learning, witte, and judgement, but also for his famillier and plaine kind of writing, and was the meetest to be folowed and studied of all those that would be in deede without colour or painted Arte, such as they woulde seeme in outwarde shewe to be reputed and esteemed of others."

and asserts that Cheke believed as he did.⁴⁸ What Cheke and Wilson admired about Demosthenes' vein was his "playne familier maner of writing and speakyng," his manner of speaking "plainly and nakedly after the common sort of men in few words."⁴⁹ Wilson's dislike of that which was unnatural or affected is obvious enough to any reader of his attack in The Arte of Rhetorique on undue Latinism, archaism, and foreign borrowings.⁵⁰ In this he is believed to reflect the ideas of Cheke,⁵¹ the leader of the movement against linguistic affectation, who gives a plain statement of his point of view in the letter to Thomas Hoby which prefaces Hoby's translation of Castiglione's Courtier: "I am of this opinion that our tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borrowing and never payeng, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt."⁵² In his translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew and a portion of Mark, Cheke put into practice his principle of admitting no words of foreign origin.⁵³ It is perhaps lucky for the English language that even Cheke's pupils did not follow him all the way in his linguistic nationalism.⁵⁴

Cheke's own style, whether in English, Latin, or Greek, was excellent. He had been university orator before he left Cambridge and was known to Nashe's generation as a great orator.⁵⁵ Leland applied the epithet "eloquent" to Cheke, and thought him a worthy imitator of Demosthenes.⁵⁶ Haddon speaks of Cheke's

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 22.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Pp. 162-163.

⁵¹Walter F. Schirmer (Antike, Renaissance, und Puritanismus [Munich, 1924], p. 40) writes: "durch Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique die Lehren Chekes und Aschams einem weiteren Schülerkreis vermittelt wurden." Gabriel Harvey (Marginalia, ed. G. C. Moore-Smith [Shakespeare Head Press, 1913], p. 122) asserts that Wilson's Rhetoric and Logic were "the dailie bread of our common pleaders & discoursers."

⁵²The Courtier (Everyman edition), p. 7.

⁵³Edited by James Goodwin (Cambridge, 1843).

⁵⁴Wilson (Arte of Rhetorique, p. 165) writes: "Now whereas wordes be received, as well Greeke as Latine, to set forth our meaning in the English tongue, either for lacke of store, or els because we would enrich the language: it is well doen to use them, and no man therein can be charged for any affectation, when all other are agreed to followe the same waile."

⁵⁵Marginalia, p. 22.

⁵⁶Strype, Cheke, p. 12.

"divine mouth" and of his eloquence.⁵⁷ Wilson writes that Cheke was more skilled in the writing of English than any one he knew.⁵⁸ The excellence of Cheke's English style is amply attested to by his treatise addressed to the rebels of Norfolk entitled The Hurt of Sedition (1549).⁵⁹ It is indeed a pity that this sample of excellent early sixteenth century prose has not been made more accessible to students of English literature.

Cheke's pupil Ascham was as conscious as he of the possibilities of English as a literary language. Ascham wrote to Cecil (January 5, 1548) urging him to devote some of his time "to cultivate the English tongue; so that men might understand that even our language allows a man to write in it with beauty and eloquence."⁶⁰ In dedicating Toxophilus to Henry VIII Ascham wrote that although it would have been easier for him to have written the book in Latin or Greek, he wrote it in English: "I supposinge it no point of honestie, that mi commodite should stop and hinder ani parte either of the pleasure or profite of manie, have written this Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue, for Englishe men."⁶¹

Just as he followed Cheke in his love of fine style, so did Ascham follow Cheke in the method by which good style was to be attained: namely, imitation. After listing the six points to be considered in studying Cicero, Ascham writes of his debt to Cheke as follows:

In thies fewe rude English wordes, are wrapt up all the necessarie tooles and instrumentes, wherewith trewe Imitation is rightlie wrought withall in any tonge. Which tooles, I openlie confesse, be not of myne owne forging, but partlie left unto me by the cunningest Master and one of the worthiest Gentlemen that ever bred, Syr John Cheke: And therefore I am bolder to borow of him, and here to leave them to other, and namelie to my children: which tooles, if it please God, that an other day they may be able to use rightlie, as I do wish and daylie pray they may do, I shal be more glad,⁶² than if I were able to leave them a great quantitie of land.

Ascham tells of the many pleasant talks he had with Doctor

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 162.

⁵⁹ I used the 1569 edition in the Newberry Library. It is described on the title page as "newly perused and printed the 14 of December 1569." It was printed by William Seres.

⁶⁰ Works, I, Part I, li-liii. The Latin text appears on pp. 156-158.

⁶¹ P. 14.

⁶² The Scholemaster, p. 141.

Watson and Sir John Cheke on the subject of "trew Imitation."⁶³ Together they compared the precepts of Aristotle and of Horace with the examples of Euripides, Sophocles, and Seneca. Of the men writing tragedy in his day, Ascham was certain that "not one I am sure is able to abyde the trew touch of Aristotles preceptes and Euripides examples, save onely two, that ever I saw, M. Watsons Absolon, and Georgius Buchananus Jepthe."⁶⁴

Thomas Watson (1513-84) was a thorough-going classicist in the true tradition of Cheke and Ascham.⁶⁵ As one might expect, he figures prominently in The Scholemaster. In the preface to his book, Ascham modestly expresses the wish that one of his three friends, Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. Haddon, or Mr. Watson, had undertaken to write the book instead of him.⁶⁶ Watson had translated into English "both plainlie for the sense and roundlie for the verse" Homer's *Odyssey*, for which Ascham praised him,⁶⁷ inasmuch as he avoided the barbarous rhyme which was repugnant to Ascham and Cheke, as well as to the poet himself.⁶⁸ All three wished that in all things literary Englishment would follow by true imitation the "perfit Grecians."

For Ascham the method of imitation was the only true method of study. In defence of it, he wrote:

This foresaide order and doctrine of Imitation would bring forth more learning and breed up trower judgement, than any other exercise that can be used, but not for yong beginners, bicause they shall not be able to consider dulle therof. And trewelie it may be a shame to good students who having so faire examples to folow, as Plato and Tullie, do not use so wise wayes in folowing them for the obteyning of wisdome and learning, as rude ignorant Artificers do for gayning a small commoditie. For surelie the meanest painter useth more witte, better arte, greater diligence, in hys shoppe, in folowing the Picture of any meane mans face, than commonlie the best studentes do, even⁶⁹ in the universitie, for the atteining of learning it selfe.

In every kind of learning a few authors "and chieflie some one" must be chosen to imitate. Just as in painting one would choose a man who could paint an entire man, woman, or child,

⁶³Ibid., p. 169.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵A brief sketch of Thomas Watson as eighth master of St. John's College is to be found in Baker's History of St. John's College, pp. 137-140.

⁶⁶The Scholemaster, p. 169.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 71.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 177.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 141-142.

and not only a hand, so

... we seek such one in our schole to follow, who is able alwayes, in all matters, to teach plainlie, to delite pleasantly, and to cary away by force of wise talke, all that shall heare or read him: and is so excellent in deed, as witte is able, or wishe can hope, to attaine unto: And this is not onelie to serve in the Latin or Greke tong, but also in our own English language. But yet, because the providence of God hath left unto us in no other tong, save onelie in the Greke and Latin tong, the trew preceptes and perfite examples of eloquence, therefore must we seeke in the Authors onelie of those two tonges the trew Paterne of Eloquence, if in any other mother tong we looke to attaine either to perfit utterance of it our selves, or skilfull judgement of it in others.⁷⁰

The implications for education of the doctrine of imitation are clear, for it sets up as a standard of excellence a body of literature which must be studied, analyzed, and followed, with varying degrees of closeness. If classical literature is the model of excellence, anyone unfamiliar with it is ignorant of excellence and therefore cannot write well. What Ascham calls "trew Imitation" requires the following of the best models, for to imitate the idle products of an ignorant ballad writer would scarcely produce literary excellence. To Ascham, Cicero was the best model, and he advocated a rather slavish following of Cicero's style.⁷¹ To Cheke and Wilson, Demosthenes was the model and after him, Isocrates. But who was selected as the model is not so important as the fact that there was a model whose style was worthy of imitation.

By setting up the followers of Cheke as models of learning, and by recommending Ascham's The Scholemaster to the young student in pursuit of knowledge,⁷² Nashe was announcing his alle-

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 166-167.

⁷¹ Himself a Ciceronian, Gabriel Harvey noted on the margins of his Quintilian that Ascham followed Cicero too precisely (Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia, p. 117).

⁷² After running on for several pages, giving advice to the young scholar, Nashe stops, and writes: "I know the learned will laugh me to scorne, for setting downe such Rams horne rules of direction, and even nowe I begin to bethinke me of Mulcasters Positions, which makes my penne heere pause as it were at a full point; which pause hath changd my opinion, and makes me rather refer you to Aschame the antienter of the two; whose prayes, seeing Maister Grant hath so gloriously granished, I will referre you to his works, and more especially to his Schoolemaster, where he hath most learnedly censured both our Latine and Greeke Authors" (The Anatomie of Absurditie, Works, I, 48). Even when Nashe differs with Ascham, as he does in Lenten Stuffle over the herring

giance, at least in theory, to the humanistic ideal which these men represented. For Nashe, as for them, the path to knowledge was by way of the classics; the path to fine style, by way of imitation.

Nashe subscribed to Ascham's theory of imitation without accepting Ascham's model. By the time Nashe came to the university a reaction had set in in some quarters against Ciceronianism,⁷³ and Nashe reflects the opinion which some of his contemporaries held of an excessive homage to Cicero. Nashe's attack on the servile copying of Cicero at Wittenberg was interpreted by some as an attack on Cambridge, and in the preface to the second edition of The Unfortunate Traveler Nashe elaborately denies the connection, maintaining that, except for Harvey, there were in the University many learned men whom he loved and respected.⁷⁴ But even if Nashe did not intend his readers to make such a connection, he seems to have made it in his own mind, for the charges brought against "the bursten belly inkhorne orator called Vanderhulke"⁷⁵ and the Cambridge Ciceronian,⁷⁶ Harvey, are the same. In Have with You Nashe addresses Harvey by the name Vanderhulke.⁷⁷ Like Vanderhulke, Harvey was given to using ink-horn expressions, which Nashe took the trouble to collect and reprint in Strange Newes.⁷⁸ Nashe says of the Wittenberg Ciceronians: "No invention or matter have they of theyr owne, but tack up a stile of his stale galymafries."⁷⁹ Harvey is accused of being the "galimafrier of all stiles in one standish, as imitating everie one, & having no separte forme of writing of thy owne."⁸⁰ If Nashe's contem-

men of Yarmouth, he treats him with great reverence, remembering that Ascham was Elizabeth's tutor and a St. John's man (Works, III, 181).

⁷³In 1580 Philip Sidney wrote to his brother Robert in the following manner: "So you can speak and write Latin, not barbarously; I never require great study in Ciceronianism, the chief abuse of Oxford" (Reprinted in Critical Essays and Literary Fragments, ed. J. Churton Collins [Westminster, 1909], p. 8). See Harvey's Marginalia, p. 117.

⁷⁴Works, II, 182.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 247.

⁷⁶Harvey was known as a Ciceronian. In June, 1577, he published his inaugural lectures under the title Ciceronianus (Harvey's Marginalia, p. 13).

⁷⁷Works, III, 31.

⁷⁸Ibid., I, 316.

⁷⁹Ibid., II, 251.

⁸⁰"Strange Newes," Works, I, 317.

poraries concluded from the similarity of the portraits that Harvey and Vanderhulke were one, and that Wittenberg was Cambridge, Nashe had only himself to blame, for he provided an adequate basis for the inference.

While Nashe rejected Cicero's style as the touchstone by which excellence was to be appraised, he still retained the belief that there was a prose style after which he could model his writing. That style was Pietro Aretino's. He thought highly of Aretino, boasting in The Unfortunate Traveler that Aretino's fame would live as long as the world existed. Even considering Cicero,⁸¹ Virgil, Ovid, and Seneca, Italy had no ornaments equal to Aretino. In Lenten Stufe Nashe confesses that he sought to imitate Aretino:

Know it is my true vaine to be tragicus Orator, and of all stiles I most affect & strive to imitate Aretines, not caring for this demure soft mediocre genus, that is like water and wine mixt together; but give me pure wine of it self, & that begets good bloud, and heates the brain thorowly: I had as lieve have no sunne, as have it shine faintly, no fire, as a smothering fire of small coales, no cloathes, rather then weare linsey wolsey.

The emphasis placed upon style by Ascham and Nashe grew out of the conviction that manner and matter could not be separated. Of those who would make such a separation Ascham wrote:

They be not wise that say, what care I for a mans wordes and utterance, if his matter and reasons be good? . . . For good and choice meates be no more requisite for healthie bodies, than proper and apte wordes be for good matters, and also plaine and sensible utterance for the best and deepest reasons: in which two pointes standeth perfite eloquence, one of the fairest and rarest giftes that God doth geve to man.

Ye know not, what hurte ye do to learning, that care not

⁸¹Works, II, 266. There was in the mind of McKerrow (Works of Nashe, V, 128-130) some doubt as to Nashe's knowledge of Aretino, yet McKerrow was unwilling to deny that Nashe knew and imitated the work of the great Italian satirist. McKerrow writes: "Aretino's name was proverbial for the force of his satire, and it may be that Nashe, in setting him up as an exemplar to be followed meant no more than that he wished his own work in English to have something of the vivacity and force of Aretino's in Italian. If this was all, we may perhaps say that he succeeded at least partially in his aim, but beyond such vague and general resemblance of tone or intention, I have been unable to discover any points of similarity whatever between the work of the two writers."

⁸²Works, III, 152. In Quintilian Nashe had excellent authority for selecting a model close to his own temperament and tastes, for Quintilian realized that different moods required different styles. It was for this reason that he advised against the imitation of only one style. See Institutio oratoria, x, 23-27.

for wordes, but for matter, and so make a devorse betwixt the tong and the hart. For marke all aiges: looke upon the whole course of both the Greeke and Latin tonge, and ye shall surely find, that, whan apte and good wordes began to be neglected, and the properties of those two tanges to be confounded, than also began ill deedes to spring... .

A similar faith in the importance of style is everywhere manifest in Nashe, in both theory and practice. Among his contemporaries Nashe had few who excelled him in the practice of his art as a rhetorician. Few of his contemporaries can match his style for picturesque and racy qualities. An analysis of his diction is convincing proof that Nashe was more than adept at his trade, for no one among his contemporaries coined such picturesque words or was able to make such strange, yet telling, words live together in a vivid, droll, familiar style.⁸⁴

In theory, rhetoric occupies a distinguished place in Nashe's hierarchy of arts. With poetry,⁸⁵ rhetoric is the most worthy of the arts. In the Anatomie of Absurditie he wrote: "Amongst all the ornaments of Artes, Rhethorick is to be had in highest reputation, without the which all the rest are naked, and she only garnished."⁸⁶

How naked the other arts were without rhetoric was clear in the case of divinity, where, as we shall see, some Puritanical divines refused to follow the rules of eloquence because of their pagan origin. For Nashe nothing was more odious than to be compelled to listen to "the artlesse tongue of a tedious dolt, which dulleth the delight of hearing and slacketh the desire of remembering. . . ."⁸⁷ Inasmuch as the major portion of Nashe's discussion of rhetoric is to be found in connection with his criticism of the state of learning in the church, more detailed treatment of the subject will appear in the fifth chapter of this study.

⁸³The Scholemaster, pp. 136-137. In this Nashe agreed with him. See "The Anatomie of Absurditie," Works, I, 45.

⁸⁴For a detailed analysis of Nashe's diction, see the unpublished M. A. dissertation of John Douglas Perry, "A Study of the Diction of Thomas Nashe" (University of Chicago, 1932).

⁸⁵A discussion of Nashe's evaluation of poetry is left for another chapter.

⁸⁶Works, I, 44.

⁸⁷Ibid. Great emphasis was placed upon eloquence during the Renaissance. See the humorous remarks on the subject in Gabriel Harvey's Margiralia, index under "eloquence."

It is clear from what has been said that, although Nashe differs from Ascham in the choice of his model, just as Ascham differed from Cheke and Wilson, he continues the rhetorical tradition of St. John's College. In one important respect, however, Nashe differs from the early scholars of St. John's College: he knew no Greek.⁸⁸ To Cheke and Ascham mastery of Greek and Latin was absolutely necessary, for, to them, Greek was the storehouse of learning. By the time Nashe came to Cambridge, the study of Greek was definitely on the wane. Whitgift, the strongest force in the University, knew no Greek;⁸⁹ neither did Bishop Fisher and Haddon.⁹⁰

In Nashe's thinking, Latin occupied the honored place given to Greek by the early humanists. Nashe was contemptuous of "poore Latinelesse authors,"⁹¹ and in his attack on translators in his preface to Sidney's *Astrophel to Stella* (1591), he speaks as if translations were intended only for the uneducated author.⁹² The basis for his attack on popular writers in the preface to Greene's *Menaphon* is that they were barely able to "Latinize their neck verse if they should have need."⁹³

For a man to be unable to latinize his neck verse was for Nashe to be entirely ignorant of the things which he considered important; for, in sixteenth century England, the chief source of knowledge was the classics. For example, the function of reading, as Mulcaster conceived of it, was to "receive what antiquity has left us," and "to store our memories with what is best for us."⁹⁴

⁸⁸McKerrow, *Works of Nashe*, V, 133. In his study of Nashe's diction, John D. Perry was forced to conclude that the appearance of Greek forms in Nashe's diction was rare (*ibid.*, p. 24).

⁸⁹Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1884), II, 418.

⁹⁰Gabriel Harvey's *Marginalia*, pp. 111, 135; *CHEL.*, III, 482.

⁹¹Speaking of Sextus Empiricus, Nashe writes, "Out of whose works (latelie translated into English, for the benefit of unlearned writers)" ("Pierce Penillesse," *Works*, I, 194).

⁹²*Works*, III, 332.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁹⁴James Oliphant, *The Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster* (Glasgow, 1903), p. 43.

A knowledge of Latin was essential for any kind of Elizabethan education from the grammar school through the university.⁹⁵ Hence, when Nashe, in his exaggerated manner, accused the ballad writers of being scarcely able to latinize their neck verse and the Puritan preachers of becoming "pulpit-men before they are reconciled to Priscian," he was accusing them of absolute ignorance, ignorance of all the sources of knowledge, of all the standards which were Nashe's criteria of excellence.

By way of summary, let us say that in theory, at least, Nashe belongs to the humanist tradition of St. John's College, Cambridge, of which Cheke, Ascham, and Watson were a few of the outstanding men; that, like these men, Nashe laid great emphasis on the study of the classics, with the difference that, instead of emphasizing the need for both Latin and Greek, Nashe recommended only a thorough knowledge of Latin; that, like Cheke and Ascham, Nashe was essentially interested in style which, he believed, could not be separated from content; that although he rejected Demosthenes and Cicero as touchstones of literary excellence and substituted Aretino, he, like his scholarly ancestors, believed in the classical doctrine of imitation, the acceptance of which implied that there was a body of literature which represented a standard of excellence for future generations to follow. The implication of a faith in the classics both as the source of knowledge and the standard of rhetorical excellence is that without a knowledge of the classics no man could be learned. When Nashe criticized the learning of his day, these were the criteria by which he judged it. These were the criteria of a past age which seemed to Nashe more glorious than his own.

⁹⁵Before being accepted by Merchant Taylors' School, children had to have learned the catechism in English and Latin and had to be able "to read perfectly and write competently, or else lett them not be admytted in no wise." Instruction included a study of Latin and Greek, the principles of the National Church were to be inculcated, and the Catechism, Articles of Faith, and the Ten Commandments were to be learned in Latin (Clode, The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors [London, 1888], II, 163).

